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593 [601] *mų'he* and others speak of her as *kų'hE*. An old man addresses an old wife as *mo'kaka*, meaning "old woman," and she addresses him as "old man." The husband usually lived with his wife's people, and the strength of bond between husband and wife was in a large measure determined by the circumstances of marriage. If parents of a lineage possessing an important tribal bundle secured a white buffalo robe and had a daughter or daughters of marriageable age, they would invite in a young man of another family distinguished for its important tribal bundle and complete a marriage. Such marriages were likely to be permanent, since both the husband and the wife were partners in an important ceremony. When children were born, the bond between husband and wife was further strengthened.

593 '762 There was a marked sex dichotomy between husband and wife. The woman did the housework, cared for the gardens, repaired the lodge, and, when on tribal hunts, did much of the butchering, while the man did the hunting, cared for the horses, and protected the village in case of attack. The woman was expected to prepare food for ceremonies in which the husband was participating, and, in the buffalo-calling ceremonies, she was expected to "walk with the buffaloes." She was also expected to "walk" with her husband's "fathers" in ceremonial transfers of age-grade societies.

●586 A woman could divorce her husband by the simple expediency of telling him to leave if they were living in the wife's parents' lodge; if living in her husband's parents' lodge, she collected her personal belongings and the children and returned to her parents' lodge. A woman divorced because of cruelty or adultery on the part of her husband, while a man would leave his wife because of trouble with her family or infatuation for another woman.

581 584 596 Few marriages were consummated by mutual selection of the prospective mates; rather the two households made the selection, and children were expected to obey their parents even to the extent of approving mates selected for them. The ties which held husband and wife together were first the respect for their parents, but, when children were born, this parental respect was replaced by mutual affection for the children. Since divorce was easy and common, the household organization was strong,

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592 768 421 only her clothing and children. Even the bedding belonged with the lodge and could not be taken whether she had assisted in tanning and preparing them or not. Responsibility for the children's care rested with her sisters and the female members of her clan.

●586 837 578 431 583 Divorce was easy and common. The elopement of a married woman having children with a married man also having children was the cause of much trouble, since it involved so many people. Learning that their brother had eloped with another man's wife, the brothers and sisters would take horses and other property to the injured man to prevent him from causing them injury, since they were accountable for a sibling's conduct. Learning that his wife had run away with another man, he was entitled to retaliate against the man's brothers and sisters and would start killing their horses. My Mandan informants enjoyed relating instances when the brothers and sisters, learning that a brother had eloped with another man's wife, had reached the lodge before the wife was missed. They would come to his lodge in a group leading the horses. Seeing the people with horses, he would hurry into his lodge or go through the village calling for his wife. People considered it very humorous to surprise a man in that way, and it was the subject of gossip for quite a while. He was expected to accept the horses and forget his wife. The elopers usually visited the Crow Indians until

586 837 578 583 the husband was reconciled to his loss. When a prominent man lost his wife, he would usually organize a war party or go out alone against the enemy. He could disregard his former wife, and those most concerned with public opinion usually did. However, a man of position usually called her into his lodge when she returned from her elopement, painted and dressed her, mounted her on a good horse, and took her back to her new husband. Those who cried because a wife eloped or who attempted to take her back or agreed to let her return if she requested it were considered weaklings and not worthy of respect. Bear on the Water, a Mandan, stole the young Arikara wife of Four Bears, the principal war chief of the Hidatsa. While they were away, Four Bears made so many threats that the Mandan were obliged to leave the village for fear of war. He refused to accept horses or to smoke the pipe with Bear on

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the Water's relatives. He demanded that his younger wife be returned on the grounds that she had a small child who was ill. The people all knew that this one was his favorite wife and that there were enough other wives and females in the lodge to care for the child. The Mandan were quite angry at Four Bears for his actions, which they did not consider worthy of a chief. A year before, Poor Wolf, the second chief of the Hidatsa, stole the wife of Flying Eagle, a Mandan, and the latter man had said, "Let him have her" and thought nothing more of it. Mandan informants were in general agreement that the Hidatsa more commonly demanded that the wife be returned.

Even when the husband accepted his wife's elopement with good grace, the couple usually encountered plenty of trouble when they returned to the village. A woman would frequently permit her husband to bring his stolen wife into the lodge when the women were close relatives of the same clan. In a few instances, the stolen wife was a younger sister of the first wife and had not been getting along well with her husband. The family had actually conspired with the man to get her back and were prepared to make payment as soon as the elopement occurred. When the elopement did not have the approval of a man's wife and her brothers, there were usually complications. She would be driven out of the first wife's lodge, and the husband was obliged to live between two lodges. The women would be jealous and carry knives, watching for an opportunity to slash each other's faces and clothing. If the first wife had many brothers, she was likely to be pretty saucy, particularly if the other woman had none. On the other hand, when the first wife had no brother while the second one had several, she would be inclined to accept the situation and get along as best she could until she had an opportunity of separating from her husband and getting another.

Marrying a brother's widow was considered the honorable way of providing for his children, in which case the man lived between two lodges. A woman having several brothers rarely married her deceased husband's brother, as it frequently meant sharing a husband with women of a different clan and household. In the event of separation or death the children were pro-

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws.

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water.

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the chin.

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue among the women was held in high esteem but was rather scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place